1: Karsten--15-16 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 122 (1928-29)

"It should be taken into consideration that travelling in Western Amazonas, and especially in Eastern Ecuador, is connected with tremendous difficulties owing to the bad condition of the roads, or more correctly speaking, the complete lack of roads, a fact which, of course, is apt to make such journeys physically extremely trying. ... the Jibaros, regarding the whites as their natural enemies, always receive a visitor with great distrust. It has indeed been said that their hatred of the whites and their warlike and treacherous character makes it a very perilous enterprise for a white man to go among them, since he can never live safely in their midst. I have found this opinion exaggerated; the hostility of the Jibaros as a [16] rule only turns against those who have actually done them harm. From my own experience I am able to testify that for a white man who approaches the Indians peaceably it is quite possible even to acquire their friendship. But on the other hand it is quite natural that a savage race, systematically ill-treated and abused for many centuries by 'civilized' European adventurers, should inevitably look upon every new-comer of the white race with suspicion, and that only gradually can he earn their confidence. The Jibaros as a rule do not like white strangers visiting them, and when they do receive them they expect the guests to leave as soon as possible. The questions with which one is almost invariable [sic] received are, 'Why do you come to us?', and 'When will you leave?', and -- last but not least--'Do you bring sickness with you?' The last question is particularly characteristic of the Jib-

aros. There is in fact nothing these savages fear so much a [sic] mysterious diseases imported by the whites, especially dysentery, small-pox, and other epidemic diseases which in former times made frightful ravages among them. If a member of the family happens to fall ill with any sickness shortly after an apachi (white man) arrives in the house, the latter is sure to be made responsible for this calamity. If a death should take place, the visitor's life would certainly be in danger, since the enraged Indians would not hesitate to kill him if they were in a position to do so."

1: Karsten--23-24 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 122 (1928-29)

"I arrived in Ecuador in August 1916, proceeding from Panama. It was during the great war, and I had in many respects to experience the obstacles such a war puts in the way even of a peaceful traveller and explorer. The Ecuadorian government and the authorities in general, however, showed me great complaisance and courtesy, and official letters of recommendation were given me which facilitated my journeys in the Oriente. I shall always gratefully remember the valuable services which were rendered me by the Chilean minister in Ecuador, Señor Victor Eastman-Cox, who among other things introduced me to members of the Ecuadorian government. Still more do I feel obliged to a man whom the expressions of my gratitude can no longer reach, namely, the Swedish Consul in Quito, Mr. Ludovico Söderström. During the whole time of my first long residence in Ecuador 'Don Ludovico' was a great help to me, among other things by keeping my ethnographic collections, which were destined for the museum of Gothenburg, Sweden. On some [24] of my short sojourns in Quito I was kindly invited to stay in Mr. Söderströms house. When I visited the country on my second expedition to Ecuador and Peru, my old friend was no more. He had died one year previously, in 1927, at an age of no less than 87 years, of which nearly 60 had been spent in Ecuador."

1: Karsten--71 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
122 (1928-29)

"After repeated visits to the Indians of the Upano--where, among other things, I was present at a great 'tobacco feast'--I proceeded to Canelos, to see old friends and to make certain investigations. Canelos was also to be the starting-point for my expedition down to the Marañon. For this purpose I had to make the necessary arrangements with my Indian companions, who are indispensable on expeditions of this nature. To find native servants willing to accompany me on my long journey, however, proved extremely difficult."

2: Stirling--X (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 122

"The ethnographic material for the present account was secured in the field in 1930-31, principally from Jivaros on the Paute, the Upano, the Yaupe, the Chinganasa, and the Alto Marañon Rivers, when the writer was a member of the Latin-American expedition, to which he is indebted for the opportunity of making his field studies. This area constitutes a fair cross section through the Santiago drainage, the heart of the Jivaro country. In his field work the writer was fortunate in having the services of an unusually intelligent and able interpreter, Santiago Baca of Mendez.

Much assistance in the field was also rendered by the late John Verrill, and especially by Mr. William Larner. The writer would also like at this time to acknowledge courtesies rendered by Ecuadorian officials, particularly Lt. Durán of Mendez. He was also received most courteously by Mons. Comin of the Salesian mission at Mendez and by Mr. Charles C. Eamigh of the gospel mission at Chupianza. Especial thanks are due to Mr. Joseph Sinclair, who kindly put his extensive bibliographic material at the disposal of the writer, and to Mr. Wolfgang von Hagen for supplying the writer with maps and other information. Dodd, Mead & Co., owners of the copyright, have generously permitted the quotation of several interesting passages from Head Hunters of the Amazon by F. W. Up de Graff."

21: Davar--359 (no date) 1934 Jivaro
116, 122

"Traversing the Amazon basin was only a part of our Cycling expedition round the World, but it was easily the best part of it. I do not propose to narrate here the hardships we encountered, or the dangers that befell us, or the adventures that came our way; or the wonderful things we witnessed. There will be proper time and place to narrate them in all their splendour. What I propose to deal with is our experiences among the wild tribes of Peru, who go under the general name of 'Jivaro' or 'Khivro' as the explorers are wont to pronounce this word, and who have been noted for a peculiar custom, which is a record by itself of the shocking levity to which customs and ceremonies among the primitive societies can descend."

After fourteen days of navigation, we passed through the Panama canal and then followed the Pacific to Guayaquil where we disembarked at our first destination. After a short rest, the Andean railway which crawls along an incline of some 4,000 meters, took us to Quito, the capital of Ecuador and the highest in the world.

From there we went on to Cuenca which was to be the base of our expedition and where the Salesian missionaries have their principal see. Their civilizing work radiates across many kilometers of savage or almost unexplored lands up the heart of the formidable forests inhabited by the Jíbaros.

In Cuenca we made our preparations, taking measures against the excessive humidity of the forest, which could cause damage to the filming apparatus, our greatest treasure. The complete absence of roads obliged us to organize caravans with native porters, mules, horses, and guides who could open up a route in the vegetal labyrinth.

From this point we went on to Pan and Gualageo. We then coasted the Negro River for almost 200 kilometers to Méndez, another see of the Salesian missionaries. From Méndez we followed the course of the Tutangosa River to Macas, where another mission marked the last vanguard of civilization; then we went along the Lupanos River and entered into contact with the "unexplored jungle."

29: Vité- -22[2]
116, 122, 132

(1934) 1935

Jívaro

The appearance of the equatorial rains which arrived a month earlier than expected this year, prevented us from traveling across Ecuador and Brasil to the Atlantic. We were not able to continue our task after a month's sojourn in the interior of the country, and we had to return to Guayaquil where we embarked on our return to Italy.

29: Vité--22 [3] (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 122, 136

We had gathered together precious material, not to mention a collection of snakes, among which was one that transmits a fatal poison simply by coiling his body, without biting or giving pain, and we had attended a unique ceremony of authentic savages.

31: Danielsson--83 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 122

"The material for this study was collected during travels in Western Amazonas, October 1946--January 1947, as a member of the Finnish-Swedish Amazon Expedition, and during a second visit to the same area in March-April 1948. Dr. George A. Lundberg, University of Washington, suggested the study to me, and together with Dr. Stuart Dodd, Washington Public Opinion Laboratory, has made many valuable suggestions. Dr. Rafael Karstein, [sic] University of Helsinki, Finland, specialist on the Jibaro anthropology and leader of the Finnish-Swedish Amazon Expedition, has supplied me with much information. For help in collecting material I am indebted to Father Juan Ghinassi and Sr. Guillermo Lopez, Chinimbi, Ecuador. I am also greatly indebted to Orabelle Connally for drawing the charts and to Lenore Dickson and Virginia Hertzler for critical and extensive proof reading of the manuscript and the proofs."

g English *ng* in *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, fricativized when preceding *t*, palatalized when following *h* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
t English *th*
ts English *ts* in *cats*
v Spanish *v* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant, palatalized when following *h* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* that voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*
y Spanish *y*

Unwritten vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

* A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

* The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History, and by the American Anthropological Association (NSF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

* I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided invaluable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

* Aruutam may also be pronounced *aruutan*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Tanner (1956) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

* Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

* One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of ayahuasca (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from ayahuasca in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence.

* One exception is the fortieth arutam which only wanderers absorb, when traveling.

* Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

** There is also a rare super arutam, among whose soul is said to dwell celestial and diurnal beings the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

** The arutam soul resides in the body of a person in one his area soul is only permanent arutam, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

** Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near absence of violent conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The function of this can be seen in the desire of the individual to demonstrate his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gesture.

** Magical songs for alternatively pronounced words.

** When a man does not rub the head of a person for his enjoyment (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the arutam's soul is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Then the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him.

* A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published upon the subject surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any example from outside the information presented here and previous accounts indicates misunderstanding of that material.

* The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens.

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124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jivaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed information was through interpreters. However, unlike my predecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jivaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial vari-

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fication possible. I personally believe that the proper use of first-class interpreters is an excellent field technique, but that it must be done with sophistication involving constant rephrasing of the same questions in different contexts with various interpreters and informants and supplemented by as much participant observation as possible. It seems likely that at least as many errors in ethnographic research can be committed by the fieldworker who is under the delusion that he is "fluent" in the language, and who fails to check his results through interpreters, as by the researcher who recognizes his linguistic limitations and uses trained interpreters with sensible caution and patience.

The research providing the present data was conducted for a total of fourteen field months in 1956-57, 1964 and 1969, primarily in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Río Chigüaza, the Río Macuma, the Río Canguimi, the Río Cusuimi, the Río Mangosiza, and the Río Upano and its tributaries. Except where otherwise stated, the ethnographic data presented here refer to the culture of those Jivaro who in 1956-57 were not yet in regular first-hand contact with Ecuadorians or other whites.

The 1956-57 field investigation was sponsored by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation, Inc., of New York, with supplementary grants from the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, the American Museum of Natural History, and the American Anthropological Association (Smith, Kline and French Laboratories contract). The organization and study of the collected data upon my return from the field was facilitated by a University Fellowship in Anthropology from the University of California and by a summer grant from the Social Science Research Council.

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Fieldwork in the summer of 1964 was carried out under the auspices of the Associates in Tropical Biogeography of the University of California, Berkeley, and the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology of the same institution. Sponsorship of the 1965 summer investigations was by the American Museum of Natural History, the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, and the Columbia University Institute of Latin American Studies.

I am particularly indebted to Professor John H. Rowe of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, who first called my attention to the inadequacies of the published material on the Jivaro and who supported me in embarking on the initial field research,* when others felt that it was too perilous a project. Other colleagues who have been of particular assistance are Robert F. Murphy, James J. Parsons, Robert L. Carneiro and Kenneth Kensinger. My wife, Sandra, my son, James, and my daughter, Teresa, have helped make this work possible in such profound ways that they will probably never fully realize the depth of their contributions.

Ecuadorians and Americans in Ecuador who especially made possible the success of the fieldwork through their friendship and assistance were Dr. Alberto Flores Gonzalez, Director of the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía, Sr. and Sra. Alfredo Corrales Sarmiento of the same institute, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Stuck, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Fiehn, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Drown, Mr. W. Ferguson and Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Ferguson, and also Dr. Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who contributed linguistic information on the Jivaro language. Dr. Turner is not to be held responsible, however, for oversimplifications in the orthography used here.

My greatest debt, and one which I can never adequately